

764 Twenty years ago Routledge (194, p. 149) assisted in the interment of
 177 Angata, Pakomio's mother, who was put into a coffin and lowered into a grave
 in the Catholic cemetery. Curiously enough her prie-dieu was buried with her.
 Three English cheers added the only odd touch to the whole ceremony which
 was performed according to strictest Catholic custom. On the same day, a
 great feast of pigs was held, probably as a funeral banquet.

765 From the English Company I obtained an old photograph showing a group
 of girls, dressed in white, singing for the dead. My informant, Victoria
 Rapahango, told me later that the picture was taken at a feast held six months
 after the death of one of her children. The long period between the death
 and the feast suggests a survival of some old custom.

● 769 Offerings of food were made for the dead, but we do not know whether
 this was a general custom for all dead or only for those who asked for food
 787 through the medium of dreams or in the form of ghosts. Our only source
 775 of information is the following passage in a letter of Father Zumböhm (230,
 vol. 6, p. 120):

As to the souls of the bad men, they stay near the corpses enduring hunger and
 thirst in proportion to their wickedness. From there they sometimes go to beg food
 from their relatives and friends who must give it if they wish to be rid of the impor-
 tunity of the dead. I had many opportunities to fight against this superstition, especially
 among women who had been converted. Very often, as a consequence of a nightmare,
 they were induced to put food on the grave of a relative they believed they had seen in
 a dream.

765 The mourning of relatives lasts from one to two years (87, p. 30) or
 262 even three years, according to Routledge (194, p. 171). For only sons the
 mourning might have continued for three or four years. Relatives—we do
 not know exactly who—had to keep food tapus and were not allowed to eat
 sweet potatoes (87, p. 30). When the mourning was over a great feast was
 celebrated and the "pappa was finished" (194, p. 171).

Comparison with other Polynesian Funeral Rites

761 The wooden platforms on which the corpses were exposed resemble the
 764 Mangarevan biers described and figured by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 170).
 They are also similar to the Marquesan biers resting on four posts (142,
 p. 57). The stone platforms behind some Easter Island ahus have their
 equivalents in the Marquesas. On Hivaona the platform for the dead was made
 of stream boulders, well fitted together and encasing rough stones, rubble,
 and earth (104, p. 117).

SUICIDE

762 Suicide is reported to have been very frequent before Christianity was
 152 introduced. For the "slightest provocation" natives jumped from a cliff (190,
 p. 464). Very likely the psychological background for these suicides was the
 same as in other parts of Polynesia, especially Mangareva, where it seems to

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single body is figured among the petroglyphs and occurs commonly among signs of the tablets. 532

SIGNIFICANCE OF WOODEN IMAGES

Like the stone images, the *mōai kavakava* and *paopao* are enigmas. Their true significance was not even clear to the natives 50 years ago. Though our information about them is vague, we know their ritual use. The earliest evidence on this subject is contained in a letter of Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69): 532 778

I was unable to discover any positive act of a religious cult. In all the huts are found small images 30 cm. tall, representing men, fish, and birds. Beyond any doubt they are idols, but I never noticed that any kind of respect was paid to them. Sometimes I saw the Kanakas lift their images up in the air, make some gestures, and accompany the whole thing with a sort of dance and with an insignificant chant. What was their purpose? I think they did not know it themselves. They simply did what they had seen their fathers do, without reflecting longer about it. If you ask them what it means, they will answer you . . . that so is the custom of the country.

Palmer (171, p. 180), though he calls them "larea" or "household gods", asserts that they were not worshipped and that the natives knew nothing about the significance of the motifs carved on them. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128) states definitely that these images were considered sacred. Gill (89, p. 181) learned from an Easter Islander that such images were worshipped.

Fifty years ago Geiseler (90, p. 32) was told, probably by Salmon, that these images represented secondary gods which were exhibited during the feasts, notably those celebrated at harvest time or when the first fruits were offered. The rest of the time, the images were kept in huts, carefully wrapped in tapa. During feasts, everyone displayed the images he possessed, hanging them on his person. The more images a man could wear, the greater chance he had of having his requests granted by the deity. Sometimes individuals were loaded with 10 or 20 images. The images were unwrapped amid chants and rocked in cadence on the arms of the owners. The natives took pride in the number of images they owned and in their workmanship. In confirmation of Geiseler's information, I was told repeatedly that the images were taken out during feasts by men who danced with them. My informants demonstrated vividly the grotesque and often obscene gestures made by those who carried images.

Though Thomson (215, p. 534) had access to the same source of information as Geiseler, he mentions only that the images "were given a place of honor at feasts and ceremonies." However, he seems certain that they were representations of spirits and that they figured deceased chiefs and persons of note. There is perhaps some truth in Knoche's statement (126, p. 95) that "the images of *toro-miro* were carved when the member of a family died whose name was given to the figure." [769]

532 Routledge (194, p. 270) concludes that "on the whole the female figures
778 and those with ribs seem to have been considered to be supernatural beings;
they are generally called *atuaku*, and sometimes *atua*, while the others represent men."

Edge-Partington (68, p. 180) writes that the images were kept in the huts
"either in niches (?) or suspended from the ridge pole, and were carefully
wrapped up in nature cloth or tapa."

532 The wooden images showing protruding bones were intended to represent
769 the spirits of dead people. This conception, which was very ably suggested
778 by Desmedt (59, pp. 134-135) is borne out by traditions and by the statements
of natives who still conceive the spirits of the dead as identical with
the wooden images.

532 The legend accounting for the origin of the first images has been recorded
773 several times (194, pp. 269-270; 222, pp. 61-64; 27, pp. 137-138). Most of
778 the natives know the story, and their version may be useful for a true understanding
534 of the nature of wooden images:

He mansu Tuu-ko-ihu mo (o)ho ki
Hare-koka i Hanga Hahave. He noho
Tuu-ko-ihu, he moe i Ahu-te-peu. He
ofea i te po a, he ea, he oho ki Vaitaka-
tiki, ki Puku-takare, ki Ahu-ava-a-atea,
ki te Henua-kava. He iri, he oho, he tuu
ki Punapau. I ka tuu atu ki mua ki te
hitirau, ko te varua e momoe roa i te
aro o te hitirau. He kavakava no, he
ivi no, ina he hakari. Te ingoa nga varua
era ko Hitirau ko Nuku-te-mango. He
oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He rangi mai etahi varua
ko Hauriuri te ingoa: "Ka ara korua,
ku tikea ana te korua kavakava e te ariki."
He veve veveri, he ara, he ui atu ko te
tangata. He oho ro ana, he ea ki runga,
he oho ararua, he pu mai amua, he ui
ki te ariki: "Pehe taau mea maa." He
ki te ariki: "Ina." He ki hakahou: "Ati-
kea te mee aau i ui." He ki te ariki:
"Ina." He ngaro hakahou tau nga varua
era.

He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He piri haka-
hou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu i Mataengo. He ui
hakahou: "Pehe taau mee maa, e te ariki
e." He ki Tuu-ko-ihu, "Ina." He oho
hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu he piri hakahou i
Puku-rautea. He ui hakahou ki a Tuu-
ko-ihu: "Pe he taau mee maa e te ariki
e." "Ina." Ana i haaki Tuu-ko-ihu ku
tingai ana o te ui i to rama kavakava oira
ana tingai. He ngaro hakahou.

Tuu-ko-ihu decided to go to the house
called Hare-koka (House-of-the-cock-
roaches) at Hanga Hahave. Tuu-ko-ihu
was living then in Ahu-te-peu. Early in
the morning he left and went to Vaitaka-
tiki, to Puku-takare, to the Ahu-ava-a-
atea, to Henua-kava. He went up and
climbed to Punapau. He happened to see
in front of the red stone two spirits who
were sleeping near the (cliff) of red
stone. They were just ribs and they had
no bodies. The names of these spirits
were: Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango. Tuu-
ko-ihu went on. Another spirit, named
Hauriuri, cried: "Awake, the king saw
your ribs." They woke with a start and
saw this man. They went, (they) climbed
and crossed the way in front of Tuu-ko-
ihu. They asked: "What do you know?"
"Nothing", answered the king. They said
again: "Perhaps you noticed something."
"No", said the king. The two spirits dis-
appeared again.

Tuu-ko-ihu went on. (But) the spirits
met him again at Mataengo. They asked
again: "What do you know about us,
O King?" Tuu-ko-ihu answered, "Noth-
ing." Tuu-ko-ihu went on and he met
them again at Puku-rautea. They asked
Tuu-ko-ihu again: "What do you know
about us, O King?" "Nothing." If Tuu-
ko-ihu had told them he had seen their
ribs, they would have killed him. They
disappeared again.

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root is used for burns, and a species of nightshade is used as a vulnerary remedy." Sea water is drunk as a purgative. The introduced verbena (*purina*) is used as a remedy against leprosy. Knoche (123, p. 195) mentions a decoction of ti as a remedy but he does not say for what it is used and modern natives know nothing about its medicinal use. They rely mostly on European remedies.

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RECREATION

FEASTS

Modern Easter Islanders rely entirely on feasts to break the monotony of their lives. Formerly, frequent wars gave a thrill to existence, and when peace reigned festivities were continuous, according to Eyraud. Every lineage or village considered it a duty to entertain in turn the other villages or lineages. As soon as a feast was finished in one place a new one began at another point of the island.

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The general name for feast, used in tales, is *koro* which applies also to the big house erected for festal occasions. Whatever the real meaning of *koro* might have been, the feasts were named according to their purpose, their nature, and the time of the year when they were celebrated. The main feasts which have been recorded by missionaries or mentioned in traditions are the *paina*, the *are-ati*, the *langala-manu* (feast of the bird-man) at Orongo, and the ordinary *koro*, including feasts to honor a parent and those given at harvest time by rich landowners. "When the crops were ripe, every plantation, whatever its products were became the subject of a feast for a village or even for several villages. Everything depended on its extension and the importance of the owner" (190, p. 428).

At every feast there was a great display of food, especially of chickens. Food was piled on stages or conical towers. It is said that feasts were often disturbed by quarrels among warriors (*mata-toa*), who demanded large contributions of food and fought for shares (190, p. 498).

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PAINA

The exact purpose and form of the *paina* feast is rather vague. Various visitors have collected widely differing accounts. But the *paina* apparently celebrated the memory of a dead parent, generally a father, and was an indirect part of the funeral duties of a son. The feast could be held soon after the death or several years later. It was always celebrated in the summer, and the right time for it was indicated by the position of the three central stars in Orion. The entire family of the deceased, especially the brothers and cousins, contributed to the expense of the ceremony. Over a period of years they raised chickens, planted extensively, and probably stored food to

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769 gather enough provisions to entertain a large crowd of guests. The guests
574 also brought food for distribution in order to add to the abundance and gaiety
of the feasting.

My informant Tepano was at first firm in his assertion that the *paina* was given for dead men only; later he said it could be held to honor a living father as well, and described the ceremony as similar to a *koro* feast. This last is the version collected by Routledge (194, p. 233) who was told that a *paina* might honor "a father, or possibly a brother who might be either alive or dead." However, Routledge probably confused *paina* and *koro* feasts.

769 The feast and the *paina* ceremony were held on the ahu where the honored
574 dead relative was buried, and the ceremony was directed by an *ivi-atua*
778 (priest). A huge image of a human figure made of rods and reeds and covered with tapa was erected on the landward side (front) of the ahu. *Paina* images have been variously described. The present natives remember them as follows:

[53] The framework rods were sufficiently strong to hold the weight of a man. On the perpendicular poles were fastened 11 or 12 rings of "reeds" (?), the diameter of each ring decreasing toward the upper part of the pole. Tapa cloth was sewn onto the conical framework and painted. The head was made separately, and consisted of a framework of wood and reed covered with tapa cloth. The mouth was left open so that the man who climbed into the figure could see and speak. The top of the head was surmounted by a circlet of frigate bird (*makohe*) feathers. The eyebrows were made of black feathers; the eyes were painted and the balls were represented by black shells (*pure ururi*) surrounding a white disk cut from a human skull (*ivi puoko*). [According to Routledge's informants (194, p. 233) the eyes were open so that the man inside could see out.] The nose was a piece of tapa stuffed with reed. The body of the *paina* was stained yellow with turmeric dye. Perpendicular lines on the neck symbolized a man, but dots on the forehead and a black triangle on the cheeks (*rritu*) indicated that the *paina* stood for a woman.

One of Gonzalez' officers (90, p. 95) writes:

They have another effigy or idol, clothed and portable, which is about four yards (*varas*) in length: it is properly speaking, the figure of a Judas studded with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs half-way down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstration some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment, and they name it *Copeca*.

Sixteen years later, M. de Langle of the La Pérouse expedition saw another *paina* which he describes as follows (130, vol. 1, p. 81):

We found near the last of them [ahu] a kind of layman or effigy of reeds, representing a man ten feet high, and covered with a white manufacture of the country; the head of a natural size, the body thin, the legs pretty exactly proportionate, and a net hanging to its neck in the shape of a basket covered with white cloths, and apparently containing grass. By the side of this sack was the figure of a child two feet long, with the arms crossed and the legs hanging down. This layman, which could not have stood there many years, was perhaps the model from which statues are now erecting to the chiefs of their country.

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The *paina* figures were not destroyed but were carefully preserved to be used in some future ceremony. The heads especially received great care. Stuffed tapa images, which may have been small *paina* or models of such images, are preserved in the Belfast and Peabody Museums (figs. 30-31).

Gonzalez (90, p. 95) gives *kopeka* as the name for the "clothed idols." The exact meaning of this word, generally combined with *ati* (*ati kopeka*), has been translated differently by various natives, but it always refers to a slain man and implies the idea of vengeance. Routledge (194, p. 233) says that the *paina* was put up "on a special spot, where for example, a man has been killed." Since the *paina* seems to have been a feast celebrated in honor of a dead parent, it is not impossible that special rites were observed or allusions made to his fate when he had been slain by an enemy.

Near all the large ahus there are circular depressions having an average diameter of 3 or 4 meters on which the *paina* image stood. These holes are particularly conspicuous on the Ahu-te-peu where there are five of them near the stone slope of the ahu. They are slightly excavated and paved with stones. No other ahu has so many *paina* holes. Perhaps it is because of this number that the natives told Routledge that no more than five *paina* might be celebrated in one season. "The *paina* was kept in place by four long ropes, one of which passed over the ahu" (194, p. 233). The chickens raised for the feast by the host and his family were placed at the feet of the image and distributed among the guests.

The details of the *paina* ceremony have been forgotten. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 66), who must have attended one, describes superficially what must have been a decadent or at least an exceptional performance:

The *paina* are held in summer, and they attract all the population. Every participant takes his food for the time of the feast and especially for the last day which is the day of the banquet. All these rations, placed on the same line and covered with branches, formed the principal element of the feast. After having run for many days and after having performed all sorts of evolutions according to all the rules of the ceremonial, then comes the final clearing up. They swallow all the sweet potatoes and then put together in bundles all the branches which covered them, and they set up a sort of column or mast. That is the meaning of the word *paina*.

It is remembered that the son of the deceased, who was the host, climbed inside the image with a chicken in his hand. He passed his head through the mouth of the *paina* and delivered a long speech to the crowd thronged in front of the ahu. He spoke of the dead, exalting his virtues and praising his memory, and afterwards boasted about himself for having organized the feast. The relatives of the dead, on hearing the speaker's panegyric, started the funeral laments: *Aue tatu ue* . . . At a given moment or during all his speech, the host stretched his arm to show everybody the chicken or chickens he was holding.

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643 aided over the experts in *rongorongo*, the repository of ancient tra-
 174 ditions, genealogies, etc. They used tablets (Kohau *rongorongo*) en-
 [212] graved with signs as an aid to memory. The signs of *rongorongo*
 were the object of organized teaching.

174 The Pascuans practiced a form of double inhumation. The body
 764 was exposed on the *ahu* until the flesh dried up or turned to dust.
 769 The bones were then placed in the burial chambers. Sometimes the
 skull was preserved separately. There was a general fear of the spirits
 [175] of the dead. Commemorative feasts were held in front of the tombs,
 where chickens were exchanged for a ritual purpose. The statues at
 the foot of Rano Raraku represent the dead. Several of them have
 tattoo marks which were still used during the historical period.
 Later, the images of the dead also were placed on the *ahus*.

174 The Pascuans had a large number of gods, the chief of whom was
 766 Maké Maké. The same name appeared in other Polynesian mytholo-
 gies. It would seem to be connected with the source of that which
 supplied the material needs of the Pascuans—cultivation and fishing.
 [171] It was thus connected with the Marquesan Tiki, whose mask it resem-
 bled in almost every detail. Maké Maké is the creator of birds. One
 of the less obscure features of his cult is the indication, by means of
 birds, of a man¹⁰ who probably represents the god, and who each
 spring gives place to another. Ritual feasts at which human flesh
 [266] was eaten were a part of this cult, as well as also initiation ceremonies
 at puberty.

175 The end of the old culture was hastened by the arrival of Euro-
 179 peans, who revealed a new world to the Pascuans, a world totally
 different from their own. From that time onward they lost without
 any effort both peace and the joy of life. Their restless spirit drove
 them to undertake the most savage warfare, which decimated them,
 ruined their culture and overthrew its monuments. Works of art
 were given up, traditions were lost, so that even the memory of their
 existence has perished. The whalers and slavers completed the task
 of destruction already well advanced. After being Christianized the
 Pascuans became ashamed of most of their past history, and essayed,
 not without success, to remove all traces of it from memory.

¹⁰ Tangata Manu—bird man. He was the first to get possession of the first egg laid
 by the bird *Manutara* (breast) in the island of Motunui (spring equinox).